

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 EA-11 EUR-25 AID-20 IO-14 EB-11 TRSE-00

OMB-01 /173 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/RA:TGGRANT:GMD

APPROVED BY P - JOSEPH J. SISCO

NEA:RPDAVIES

NEA:SSOBER S/S - MR. LUERS

EUR/SOV:JROY (SUBS)

EA/PRCM:AROMBERG (SUBS)

INR/DRR/RNA:PSTODDARD (DRAFT)

DOD/JCS/J-5:GEN.CHRISTIANSEN (SUBS)

DOD/ISA:DPEYER (SUBS)

NEA/INS:LBLAINGEN (DRAFT)

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R 241613Z FEB 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

S E C R E T STATE 037010

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:CENTO

SUBJECT: CENTO SITUATION PAPER

REFS: A) ANKARA 1042; B) ANKARA 854; C) ANKARA 733;
D) ANKARA 431

BEGIN SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ARE OUR COMMENTS ON REFTELS OR
PROPOSALS FOR ADDITIONAL AMENDMENTS TO REVISION NO. 4 OF
CENTO SITUATION PAPER. END SUMMARY.

1. ACCEPT FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS AS AMENDED BY REF A: IN-
TRODUCTION, 30, 34, 35, 38, 47(B), AND 47(K). ACCEPT

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FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS AS AMENDED BY REF B: 4, 5, NEW

PARAGRAPH 7 AND 16. ACCEPT PARAGRAPH 47(D) AS AMENDED BY REF C. ACCEPT FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS AS AMENDED BY REF D: 3(F), 6, 11, 19, 22, 24 AND 43.

2. FOLLOWING PROPOSALS AND COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO RESPECTIVE PARAGRAPHS OF REVISION NO. 4:

2. ACCEPT AMENDMENT PROPOSED IN REF B WITH DELETION OF FINAL SENTENCE AND INSERTION OF QUOTE IT IS A REASON-ABLE ASSUMPTION THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL AGAIN ACCEPT SOME RISK TO DETENTE IF NECESSARY TO PRESERVE ITS INTERESTS IN THE AREA. END QUOTE

3(D). AFTER QUOTE CRISIS END QUOTE INSERT QUOTE TO HAVE THE CAPABILITY END QUOTE.

9. IN SECOND SENTENCE DELETE QUOTE OF ABOUT 12 COMBATANT UNITS END QUOTE. IN THIRD SENTENCE REPLACE QUOTE HOWEVER END QUOTE WITH QUOTE THE END QUOTE AND QUOTE AT THE PRE-DECEMBER 1971 LEVEL END QUOTE WITH QUOTE 16 SHIPS. END QUOTE WHILE SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE PRIOR TO 1971 MAY HAVE AVERAGED 12 SHIPS THIS FIGURE INCLUDED BOTH COMBATANT AND NONCOMBATANT VESSELS. CURRENT AVERAGE OF 16 SHIPS ALSO INCLUDES NONCOMBATANTS.

15. IN FOURTH SENTENCE ACCEPT QUOTE BASELESS END QUOTE FOR QUOTE ABSURD END QUOTE. IN FIFTH SENTENCE DELETE ALL AFTER QUOTE CRISIS END QUOTE AND INSERT QUOTE BY PROVIDING DIPLOMATIC AND IMPLIED MILITARY REINSURANCE IN THE EVENT OF A CONFLICT. END QUOTE WE HOPE OUR SUGGESTED CHANGE WILL BE ACCEPTED, BUT WE CAN LIVE WITH AMENDMENT PROPOSED IN REF B IF NECESSARY. DELETE FINAL SENTENCE. WE BELIEVE THAT IN HIGHLIGHTING HISTORIC RUSSIAN THRUST FOR DIRECT ACCESS TO INDIAN OCEAN AS MAJOR FACTOR IN CURRENT RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN PAPER WOULD NOT REFLECT MODERN SOVIET NAVAL CAPABILITY TO MAINTAIN A PRESENCE VIA SEABORN RESUPPLY ROUTES. IF DELETION OF SENTENCE NOT POSSIBLE, PROPOSE DELETION OF QUOTE IS EXPECTED TO END QUOTE AND SUBSTITUTE QUOTE MAY END QUOTE PLUS DELETION OF QUOTE

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REMAINS END QUOTE AND REPLACEMENT WITH QUOTE IS SEEN AS END QUOTE.

21. ACCEPT AS AMENDED BY REF B AND D.

26. IN FIRST SENTENCE DELETE QUOTE AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED END QUOTE AND INSERT QUOTE OBTAINED A COMMITMENT TWO YEARS AGO. END QUOTE AFTER QUOTE

ABU DHABI END QUOTE IN END QUOTE AND INSERT QUOTE
SHORTLY AFTER THE FORMATION OF. END QUOTE END FIRST
SENTENCE AFTER QUOTE EMIRATES. END QUOTE DELETE QUOTE
ALTHOUGH END QUOTE AND BEGIN SECOND SENTENCE WITH QUOTE
THIS END QUOTE ADDING AFTER QUOTE IMPLEMENTED END QUOTE
FOLLOWING PHRASE QUOTE BECAUSE OF THE UAE'S CONCERNS
WITH SAUDI ARABIA'S REACTION TO THIS COMMITMENT. END
QUOTE.

29. IN AMENDMENT PROPOSED REF A DELETE SECOND AND
THIRD SENTENCES AND REPLACE WITH QUOTE SINCE THE
DAOUD GOVERN-

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MENT CAME TO POWER IN JULY 1973, RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN
HAVE DETERIORATED OVER AFGHAN ADVOCACY OF THE PUSHTUNISTAN
ISSUE. DESPITE AFGHANISTAN'S TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED
POSTURE IN FOREIGN POLICY, THESE POOR RELATIONS WITH
PAKISTAN HAVE HELPED DRAW AFGHANISTAN INTO A CLOSER
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR. END QUOTE

33. DELETE ENTIRE PARAGRAPH AND REPLACE WITH QUOTE
RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN HAVE A LONG HISTORY
OF TENSION. MILITARY CONFLICTS ERUPTED IN BOTH 1965 AND
1971. SINCE THEN THERE HAS DEVELOPED A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION
BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN AIMED AT REDUCING
TENSIONS AND ALLEVIATING SOURCES OF CONFLICT. THE OUTCOME
OF HIS PROCESS IS UNCERTAIN, HOWEVER. INDIA HAS HAD COOL
RELATIONS WITH CHINA, WITH WHICH IT CLASHED IN 1962, BUT
CLOSE TIES TO THE SOVIET UNION. END QUOTE IF THIS PROPOSAL
IS UNACCEPTABLE TO OTHER MEMBERS, SUGGEST REPLACEMENT OF
CURRENT FIRST SENTENCE WITH QUOTE INDIA HAS ENGAGED IN
SEVERAL WARS WITH PAKISTAN, A CENTO MEMBER. END QUOTE

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41. IN NEW PARAGRAPH PROPOSED REF A END FINAL SENTENCE
WITH QUOTE PLO END QUOTE. WE BELIEVE SOVIET INTENSIONS
CONCERNING PALESTINIAN QUESTION ARE UNCLEAR. THERE ARE
OTHER INDICATIONS THAT THEY WISH TO MOVE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT
OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.

42. IN FIRST SENTENCE DELETE QUOTE AS FOR IRAN END QUOTE
AND INSERT QUOTE SINO-IRANIAN RELATIONS IMPROVED NOTICEABLY
IN 1973. DURING HIS VISIT TO IRAN IN JUNE, FOREIGN
MINISTER CHI EXPLICITLY WELCOMED THE BUILDUP OF THE
IRANIAN ARMED FORCES, DENOUNCED SUBVERSION IN THE PERSIAN
GULF AND SPOKE OF THE SOVIET THREAT. HOWEVER, END QUOTE.

44. IN FINAL SENTENCE DELETE QUOTE FOLLOWING END QUOTE

AND INSERT QUOTE SINCE END QUOTE. DELETE ALL AFTER QUOTE
HAS END QUOTE AND INSERT QUOTE MAINTAINED A LOW
DIPLOMATIC PROFILE AND DEVELOPED CONTACTS WITH LOCAL
LEADERS, INCLUDING LEFTIST ELEMENTS. END QUOTE

47(B). IN FIRST SENTENCE RETAIN QUOTE MOST END QUOTE.
PARAGRAPH 4 RECOGNIZES SOVIETS HAVE ADOPTED AN INDIRECT
STRATEGY TOWARD CENTO. WE BELIEVE QUOTE MOST UNLIKELY END
QUOTE MORE ACCURATELY REFLECTS THAT JUDGMENT.

47(C). IN FIFTH SENTENCE DELETE ALL AFTER QUOTE WITH
DETENTE END QUOTE AND INSERT QUOTE IF NECESSARY TO PROTECT
THEIR INTERESTS. END QUOTE

3. REMAINING PARAGRAPHS ARE ACCEPTABLE AS THEY APPEAR
IN ORIGINAL VERSION OF REVISION NO. 4.

COMMENT: WE APPRECIATE US REPS SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS,
PARTICULARLY DURING FINAL STAGES OF DRAFT, TO REVISE
LANGUAGE WE COULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED. WE HOPE REVISIONS
PROPOSED ABOVE CAN BE PUT FORWARD WITH SAME SUCCESS.
BELIEVE OVERALL PAPER WOULD THEN BE ONE WE CAN LIVE
WITH, DESPITE VARIOUS POINTS WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED
TO SEE CAST DIFFERENTLY PER OUR PREVIOUS EXCHANGES.
WE RECOGNIZE LIMITS IN ATTEMPTING ARRIVE AT DRAFT
WHICH IS NOT EXACTLY WHAT ANY MEMBER MIGHT LIKE BUT
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WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PAPERS, SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, INTERVENTION, NAVAL FORCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE037010
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TGGRANT:GMD
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740212/aaaaaloo.tel
Line Count: 202
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) ANKARA 1042; B) ANKARA 854; C) AN, KARA 733;
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 AUG 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 AUG 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <02 DEC 2002 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CENTO SITUATION PAPER
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, OCON, PK, UR, CENTO
To: ANKARA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005